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V.—THE RELATION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CHARACTER TO THE PERIODICAL ESSAY.

To say that the seventeenth century Character holds an important place in the development of prose fiction is a commonplace of criticism.¹ That it was through the periodical essay of the eighteenth century that it influenced the development of fiction is equally well known.² But the Character of the periodical essay, written by men more interested in the individual than in the type, was quite different from the old formal Character of the beginning of the seventeenth century. Through what changes it passed in the course of its development; and why it was through the periodical essay, rather than in its own proper form, that it came to exert the influence it did, are two questions which I shall attempt to answer.

The character-sketch, or "Character," as it came universally to be called in the seventeenth century, was a short account, usually in prose, of the properties, qualities, or peculiarities which serve to individualize a type. Sir Thomas Overbury, himself one of the best known of the seventeenth century writers of Characters, has left us a curious, but, it must be admitted, not very clear definition of a Character. "If I must speak the schoolmaster's language," he says, "I will confess that character comes of this infinitive mood, *χαράσσειν*, which signifies to engrave, or make a deep

¹ Speaking of the Character, Professor Raleigh says it "may rank as an ancestor of the novel in the direct line." *The English Novel* (Scribners, 1894), p. 113.

² "From the *Spectator* the character sketch, with its types and minute observation and urbane ridicule, passed into the novel and became a part of it." Cross, *The Development of the Novel* (Macmillan, 1899), p. 25.

impression. And for that cause a letter (as A, B) is called a character: those elements which we learn first, leaving a strong seal in our memories. Character is also taken for an Egyptian Hieroglyphic, for an impress or short emblem, in little comprehending much. To square out a character by our English level, it is a picture (real or personal) quaintly drawn in various colours, all of them heightened by one shadowing. It is a quick and soft touch of many strings, all shutting up in one musical close; it is wit's descant on any plain song."

Though the character-sketch showed a constant tendency throughout the seventeenth century to lose its generic quality and become biographical, the Character, properly speaking, always represented a type, never an individual. I have, therefore, in compiling my bibliography ignored all publications under the title of "Characters," which were really satiric portraits of individuals.¹ The Character bore somewhat the same relation to the biographical sketch as the "composite" photograph does to that of an individual. That is, it was, or aimed to be, a portrayal, which, while justly representative of every individual of a class, and hence of the class as a whole, combined at the same time so many individual details, carefully chosen and skillfully grouped, as almost to trick the reader into the belief that the portrayal was after all that of an individual. The best of the Character-books, both English and French, were of this sort. So deceptive were some of them that their publication was followed almost immediately by that of numerous "keys," each claiming to identify beyond a doubt the separate Charac-

¹The latter part of the century was especially prolific in these biographical Characters; they served as campaign documents, the various leaders of the Whig and Tory parties being criticised alternately. Moreover, the poetical satires of the period teemed with them. Such, to mention the most notable example, was Dryden's portrait of the Duke of Buckingham in "Zimri." *Absalom and Achitophel*, ll. 544-568.

ters as portraits of certain of the author's contemporaries—a claim, it may be added, which only the hopeless divergence of opinion among the authors of the various “keys” could serve in the least to invalidate.¹

Such descriptions of types of character were not, of course, peculiar to the seventeenth century. In a sense character writing is as old as literature itself. One of the most familiar ancient examples of it is contained in the last chapter of the book of Proverbs, and might be called the Character of an Unemancipated Woman.² Classical and post-classical literature, both Greek and Latin, contain enough of such descriptions to show that the interest in character portrayal in and for itself is universal and perennial. It is found, for example, in the epic;³ in the drama;⁴ in Satires;⁵ among the epigrams;⁶ in rhetorical treatises, like those of Lupus Rutilius⁷ and of that mysterious person usually designated as Auctor ad Herennium.⁸ In Epistles, too, it is found;⁹ in declamations,¹⁰ and in romances.¹¹ As an illustration of the antiquity of Character-writing in

¹ A case in point is the swarm of “Keys” which followed the publication in 1688 of La Bruyère's *Caractères ou Les Mœurs de ce Siècle*.

² Its excellence as a Character did not escape the notice of the English Character writers. Sir Richard Steele, in *The Guardian*, No. 168, said of it: “I do not think there is any character of Theophrastus which has so many beautiful particulars in it, and which is drawn with such elegance of thought and phrase.”

³ *Iliad*, XIII, 278 ff.

⁴ Aristophanes, *Wasps*, ll. 87–134.

⁵ Horace, Book I, Sat. ix.; Juvenal, Sat. viii. and ix.

⁶ Martial, Book III, *Epigram on Cotilus*.

⁷ *De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis*, Book II.

⁸ Book IV.

⁹ Synesius, *Epistle* CIV.

¹⁰ One of the *μελέται* of Libanius, the Greek sophist of Antioch, is a dramatic Character, the original of “Morose” in Ben Jonson's play, *The Silent Woman*. The extent of Jonson's indebtedness to Libanius is pointed out in my article in *Modern Language Notes* for November, 1901.

¹¹ The *Satiricon* of Petronius Arbiter contains the character of a man “*vani et insulsi*.”

English literature, take the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, where knight and dame and squire are drawn with such vividness of outline and with such attention to detail that we almost forget that they are types at all. Further illustrations are furnished by Langland,¹ and by the imitators of Chaucer in the fifteenth century.² It is necessary, therefore, to make a sharp distinction between Character-writing as we find it in the seventeenth century and the descriptions of contemporary types that we find scattered through all literature. What differentiated the Character of the seventeenth century from all that had preceded it was the fact that, whereas formerly the Character had been embodied in some other literary form, it was during that century wholly isolated from such surroundings. It was this disassociation from all that could hinder its independent development that helps to account for the importance of the Character as a factor in the evolution of the novel. The Character-writers turned from the dignified impersonalities of the chivalric romances, and from the conscienceless scapegraces of the *roman bourgeois* to a more minute analysis of character in what may be called, with due apology, its statical relations; regarding it, that is, not as influenced by the interaction of other characters upon it, but in and for itself.

Even with these limitations, however, the beginnings of English Character-writing antedated considerably the opening of the seventeenth century. As early as about the middle of the sixteenth century had appeared the first of a series of books which must be considered, if not the earliest example of the formal Character, at least as its immediate precursor. This was Thomas Audley's *Fraternity*

¹ *E. g.*, *Vision of Piers Plowman*, Passus VIII: Description of the "Palmer from Sinai."

² *E. g.*, Description of "Riot" in Skelton's *Bowge of Court*.

of *Vagabonds* (1561).¹ To this old book Thomas Harman was indebted for most of the material for his *Caveat for Common Cursitors* (1567). In 1592 came the *Groundwork of Coney-Catching* attributed to the dramatist Robert Greene. After an address "To the Gentle Reader's Health" in which he declares that "all these playing their cozenings in their kind are here set down which never yet were disclosed in any book on Coney-catching," and after introducing a single chapter of his own, he reprints the whole of Harman's book.² The resemblance of all these to the later Character-books is obvious, though superficial. Each kind of vagrant (and Harman mentions twenty-four distinct varieties) is successively described in a short sketch. There is, however, no attempt, such as we find in even the poorest of the Character-writers, at analysis of character.

An even more interesting anticipation of the fashion of writing Characters is found in some of the tracts published toward the close of the sixteenth century, particularly in those of Thomas Nash.³ The tract entitled *Pierce Penniless*,

¹ The full title was : *The Fraternity of Vagabonds, as well of Ruffling Vagabonds as of beggarly, of Women as of Men, of Girls as of Boys with their proper names and Qualities. With a Description of the crafty Company of Cozeners and Shifters. Whereunto is adjoined the XXV. orders of Knaves, otherwise called a quartern of Knaves confirmed forever by Cock Lorrel.* This is said to owe a good deal to a similar book, written in Latin, called *Liber Vagatorum*, published in 1514, for a new edition of which in 1528, Martin Luther wrote a preface.

² Thomas Decker's *Bellman of London* (1608) is also stolen almost wholly from Harman, but contains some curious interpolations that bring it up to date. The fraud was exposed in a tract called *Martin Mark-All, Beadle of Bridewell*, by Samuel Rowland. The latter bears interesting testimony to the popularity of this class of books. "These volumes and papers, now spread everywhere, so that every Jackboy now can say as well as the proud-est of the fraternity 'Will you waff for a win, or tramie for a make?'" The last of the series was *The English Rogue*, 1665.

³ Nash had read Theophrastus in the original. At least we find him alluding respectfully to "the golden book of Theophrastus" in a tract entitled *The Anatomy of Absurdity*, published in 1589, three years before Casaubon's translation had popularized that author.

his Supplication to the Devil, in which Nash discusses the prevalence of the seven deadly sins, contains a number of Characters. There is the "Upstart," who has traveled abroad and brought back nothing but a contempt for his own country, and the "Counterfeit Politician," who tries to seem wise by being solitary. To illustrate the sin of pride, Nash inserted four national Characters—the Spaniard, the Frenchman, the Italian and the Dane. In this, also, he anticipated a fashion which was later to become prevalent.

But though something akin to the Character had appeared thus early, it was not until 1592 that the publication of Casaubon's Latin translation of Theophrastus' *Ethical Characters* furnished a model of which the English Character-writers were not slow to avail themselves.¹ The influence of Theophrastus upon all the Character-writers of the early part of the seventeenth century, upon the men who set the fashion for those who were to follow, is clearly apparent. To the strength of this influence, thus early exerted, is due, no doubt, the fact that in its general form the character remained, even to the middle of the century, in a remarkable degree unchanged. Still, in spite of its general adherence to a tradition, the Character did slowly, with the progress of the century, acquire greater freedom of form, thereby approaching constantly nearer to that later stage of its development in the hands of Addison and Steele, when, through the periodical essay, it merged into the novel.

It remains, therefore, to point out some of the changes which the Character underwent in its progress toward the transitional form that it came subsequently, in the *Sir Roger de Coverley Papers*, to assume; and to account, if possible,

¹The form and content of Theophrastus' Ἠθικὸν Χαρακτῆρες and the use that was made of it by the English writers of Characters has already been discussed in my article on *The Relation of the English Character to its Greek Prototype* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, July, 1903.)

for the fact that it was through the essay, rather than in its own proper form, that it finally merged into the novel.

The first book of Characters to appear after the publication of Casaubon's translation of Theophrastus' *Ἠθικοὶ Χαρακτήρες* was the *Characters of Virtues and Vices* (1608) by Joseph Hall. In his work we see how much English Character-writing owed to the Greek. Of the eleven Characters of Vices, six are identical in subject with those of Theophrastus,¹ while the other five treat far more serious vices than any the genial Greek philosopher had seen fit to include. Not only did Hall depart from his original in respect to gravity of subject, but he differs from his Greek model in his method of procedure, and by so doing he set the fashion for the English school. He does not merely describe the actions proper to a character, as Theophrastus had done, but he comments upon it in general terms, aiming at epigram, pointed expressions, lively images, such as Euphuism could supply.² Moreover, Hall's sketches are still further differentiated from the Greek by at least an attempt at subtlety of analysis. Here we are not simply told what a man does, but are made to enter into his mental processes, so as to see what is the peculiar twist in his mind

¹ In my article on the relation of the English Character to the Greek, I have shown how Hall in these six "Characters of Vices" imitated Theophrastus, not only in the selection of the types for characterization, but also to the extent of adapting to his own use certain of the ideas of Theophrastus, and even his forms of expression.

² Character-writing, at least up to the middle of the seventeenth century, was closely allied to Euphuism. Indeed Euphuism, with its pointed, antithetical, balanced sentences, was well adapted to express subtle shades of difference in character, and came consequently to be regarded as the conventional dialect of the Character-writers. Several passages in *Euphuies* (1580) are written exactly in the manner of the later Character-writers. Such, to mention a single instance, is the description of "Camilla," (Arber's *English Reprints*, vol. iv, pp. 310-11), which, if it were isolated from the context and labeled the "Character of a Fair and Honest Maid," might pass for a hitherto unpublished sketch of Overbury's.

that makes him act as he does. In this attempt Hall often failed, as did many of his successors, the failure in all cases being due to the absence of that rarest of human accomplishments—the ability to detect mental and moral differences. To draw a character skillfully requires deep knowledge of human nature, a lively imagination, and great facility in the use of language. The most successful of the Character-writers were those who knew men best, and who best understood themselves. They have been critics of men and manners, critics of thought, and critics of language. Hall, on the contrary, though filled with an intense moral earnestness, showed neither any shrewdness in detecting evil motives, nor any great amount of insight in finding the good. Hall's earnestness of moral purpose was both a detriment and an advantage—a detriment when it led him into moralizing (as it too often did), for his moral reflections are nearly always commonplace; an advantage, when, coupled with the vigor and charm of which his language is capable, it rises to a dignity and stateliness almost Miltonic.

Another noticeable feature of the book is that, except when Hall copied closely the concise narrative manner of Theophrastus, his sketches lack animation. In this respect, fortunately, he was not imitated by his successors. A pretty clearly marked tendency is traceable during the progress of the century to put more action into the Character.

One of the sketches, instead of being a personification of certain moral qualities, is a type of those to whom certain qualities belong by virtue of their occupying a certain office or position in society. This is the "Character of a Good Magistrate." Among later writers this kind of Character became quite the fashion—including a wide range of types, from the *Character of a Prince* to *Poor Robin's Character of an Unconscionable Pawnbroker and Earmark of an oppress-*

ing Tallyman with a friendly Description of a Bum-Bailey and his merciless setting cur or follower.

The significance of Hall's book, considered in relation to the development of English character-portrayal, lies in the fact that, by enlarging the scope of his subject and by departing radically from Theophrastus in his method of treating it, he contributed in no small degree to the emancipation of the English Character from those limitations that a servile imitation of the Greek would have forced upon it.

To illustrate both Hall's indebtedness to Theophrastus and how in manner and method he departed from his model, I here insert Theophrastus' "Character of a Penurious Man," and, following it, Hall's "Character of the Covetous Man."

THE PENURIOS MAN.¹

"Penuriousness is too strict attention to profit and loss.

"The Penurious man is one who, while the month is current, will come to one's house and ask for a half-obol. When he is at table with others he will count how many cups each of them has drunk; and will pour a smaller libation to Artemis than any of the company. Whenever a person has made a good bargain for him and charges him with it, he will say that it is too dear. When a servant has broken a jug or a plate he will take the value out of his wages; or, if his wife has dropped a three-farthing piece, he is capable of moving the furniture and the sofas and the wardrobes, and of rummaging in the curtains. If he has anything to sell, he will dispose of it at such a price that the buyer shall have no profit. He is not likely to let one eat a fig from his garden, or walk through his land, or pick up one of the olives or dates that lie on the ground; and he will inspect his boundaries day by day to see if they remain the same. He is apt, also, to enforce the right of distraining, and to exact compound interest. When he feasts the men of his parish, the cutlets set before them will be small: when he markets, he will come in having bought nothing. And he will forbid his wife to lend salt, or a lamp-wick, or cummin, or verjuice, or meal for sacrifice, or garlands, or cakes; saying that these trifles come to much in the year. Then in general it may be noticed that the money boxes of the penurious are mouldy, and the keys rusty; that they themselves wear their cloaks scarcely reaching to the thigh; that they anoint themselves

¹ The translation is that of Professor R. C. Jebb (Macmillan, 1870.)

from very small oil-flasks ; that they have their hair cut close ; that they take off their shoes in the middle of the day ; and that they are urgent with the fuller to let their cloak have plenty of earth, in order that it may not soon be soiled.’

THE COVETOUS MAN.

“He is a servant to himself, yea, to his servant ; and doth base homage to that which should be the worst drudge. A lifeless piece of earth is his master, yea his god, which he shrines in his coffer, and to which he sacrifices his heart. Every face of his coin is a new image, which he adores with the highest veneration ; yet takes upon him to be a protector of that he worshippeth, which he fears to keep and abhors to lose, not daring to trust either any other god or his own. Like a true chemist, he turns everything into silver, both what he should eat, and what he should wear ; and what he keeps to look on, not to use. When he returns from his field, he asks, not without much rage, what became of the loose crust in his cupboard, and who hath rioted among his leeks. He never eats good meal but on his neighbor’s trencher, and there he makes amends to his complaining stomach for his former and future fasts. He bids his neighbors to dinner, and when they have done, sends in a trencher for the shot. Once in a year, perhaps, he gives himself leave to feast, and for the time thinks no man more lavish ; wherein he lists not to fetch his dishes from far, nor will be holden to the shambles ; his own provision shall furnish the board with an insensible cost, and when his guests are parted, talks how much every man devoured, and how many cups were emptied, and feeds his family with the mouldy remnants a month after. If his servant break but an earthen dish for want of light, he abates it out of his quarter’s wages. He chips his bread, and sends it back to exchange for staler. He lets money and sells time for a price, and will not be importuned either to prevent or defer his day ; and in the meantime looks for secret gratuities, besides the main interest, which he sells and returns into the stock. He breeds of money to the third generation, neither hath it sooner any being, than he sets it to beget more. In all things he affects secrecy and propriety ; he grudgeth his neighbor the water of his well, and next to stealing he hates borrowing. In his short and unquiet sleeps he dreams of thieves, and runs to the door and names more men than he hath. The least sheaf he ever culls out for tithe, and to rob God holds it the best pastime, the clearest gain. This man cries out above others of the prodigality of our times, and tells of the thrift of our forefathers : how that great prince thought himself royally attired when he borrowed thirteen shillings and fourpence on half a suit. How one wedding gown served our grandmothers till they exchanged it for a winding sheet ; and praises plainness, not for less sin, but for less cost. For himself, he is still known by his forefather’s coat, which he means with his blessing to bequeathe to the many descents

of his heirs. He neither would be poor, nor be accounted rich. No man complains so much of want, to avoid a subsidy ; no man is so importunate in begging, so cruel in exaction ; and when he most complains of want, he fears that which he complains to have. No way is indirect to wealth, whether of fraud or violence. Gain is his godliness, which if conscience go about to prejudice, and grow troublesome by exclaiming against, he is condemned for a common barretor. Like another Ahab, he is sick of the next field, and thinks he is ill-seated while he dwells by neighbors. Shortly, his neighbors do not much more hate him, than he himself. He cares not (for no great advantage) to lose his friend, pine his body, damn his soul ; and would despatch himself when corn falls, but that he is loth to cast away money on a cord."

Though the direct effect of Hall's book upon English Character-writing was probably not so great as that of some of those published later, still, through its French translation in 1619, it had a marked effect across the channel, where Character-writing became only less popular than in England. The best known of the French Character-writers was Jean de La Bruyère. In 1688, he published *Les Caractères de Theophraste traduits du Grec ; avec les Caractères, ou les Mœurs de ce Siècle*. This was followed by many English imitations in the form of "Essays and Characters." La Bruyère's "translation" of Theophrastus' *Characters* was really little more than a spirited and clever paraphrase. Inaccurate as it was, however, taken in conjunction with the immense popularity of La Bruyère's own *Characters*,¹ it did much to popularize Theophrastus, both on the Continent and in England. Consequently we may say that the indirect effect of Hall's work upon English Character-writing was indeed considerable.

Returning to the English product, we find quite different from Hall's, with its evident moral purpose, the second of

¹ Within the first decade after its publication the book went through nine editions. La Bruyère was followed by about thirty imitators, chief of whom were Brillon (author of *Le Theophraste Moderne*), Mme de Lambert, and the Marquis de Lassay.

the important Character-books of the century—that of Sir Thomas Overbury, published in 1614.¹ The book had a phenomenal popularity, due in part, no doubt, to a growing interest in Character-writing as a literary form, and in part to the sympathy aroused by the author's tragic death. That this sympathy was deep and widespread is attested in various ways. In 1614 a license was obtained to print a book, not now extant, called *Sir Thomas Overbury's Ghost containing a History of his Life and untimely Death by John Ford, Gent.* The anagram on Thomas Overburie, "O! O! a busie murder," was long current, and even as late as 1823 there was acted in Drury Lane Theatre a tragedy, written by Richard Savage, which was a dramatization of Overbury's death.² To such a universal interest in the author, rather than to any phenomenal excellence in the book itself, must be attributed the fact that by 1673 the book had reached its twentieth edition. The quarto edition of 1614 contained in addition to the "Poem of a Wife," which had appeared separately in the same year, twenty-one characters. This number was subsequently increased, the third impression containing twenty-five, a fourth, also in 1614, thirty characters. In its final current form the book became a kind of popular miscellany of Characters, to the number of eighty, contributed by various gentlemen who wrote with ease and were glad to share in the posthumous fame of the original author. It is impossible, therefore, except in the case of a few of the characters,³ to tell which were written by Over-

¹*A Wife now the Widow of Sir Thomas Overburge. Being a most exquisite Poem of the Choice of a Wife, Whereunto are added many witty Characters, and conceited Newes, written by himself and other learned Gentlemen his friends.*

²Johnson in his life of Savage says the story was "well adapted to the stage, though perhaps not far enough removed from the present age to admit properly the fictions necessary to complete the plan."

³Three, which appeared first in the sixth edition (1616), were by J. Cooke. In an address prefixed to *New Essays and Characters* (1631) by

bury and which by the "other learned Gentlemen;" for the style in all is about the same, though in some the distinguishing features—elaborate conceits and antitheses—are somewhat more pronounced.¹ Like his own "True Gentleman," Overbury "speaks Euphues not so gracefully as heartily." Some of the Characters are a mere stringing together of far-fetched comparisons and puns such as Tom Hood himself would have blushed to own.² There is subtlety of words, but no subtlety of thought. If Hall's reflections sound a little commonplace, Overbury's are invariably trivial—a fault which his antithetical manner makes only the more apparent.

Among the innovations introduced by Overbury was that of writing the Character, not of a person, but of a place. In "A Prison" Overbury anticipated the work of later authors among whom the writing of Characters of places became extremely fashionable.³ Another of his innovations was the insertion of two national Characters—that of the "Braggadocio Welshman," whose "first note of familiarity

John Stephens, Cooke writes: "I am here forced to claim three Characters following the Wife; viz. the Tinker, the Apparitor, and the Almanac-maker that I may signify the ridiculous and bold dealings of an unknown botcher."

¹ It is noticeable that there are several pairs of sketches which seem like rival exercises in the same theme. Thus there are two of "A Mere Fellow of an House." It is hard, also, to see much difference between "A Mere Common Lawyer" and "A Mere Pettifogger;" or between "A Puritan" and "A Precision;" or between "A Wise Man" and "A Noble Spirit."

² Many of the Characters end with a kind of humorous flourish, as, for example, that of "A Courtier:" "If you find him not here, you shall in Paul's, with a pick-tooth in his hat, cape-cloak and a long stocking."

Or that of a "Mere Pettifogger:" "Only with this I will pitch him over the bar and leave him: that his fingers itch for a bribe ever since his first practising of Court-hand."

³ Among these was Donald Lupton, whose *London and Country Carbonadoed and Quartered into several Characters* (1632) contained Characters of most of the places of interest in and about London.

is a confession of his valor," and that of a "Drunken Dutchman resident in England." The latter loves the aforesaid Welshman "both for his diet and orthography, that is, for his plurality of consonants and cheese." Such national types appear with great frequency among the later collections of Characters.¹ The use of the Character as a form of political satire is also anticipated by Overbury. In his picture of "A Jesuit," who, "where the Pope's excommunication thunders, holds it no more sin the decrowning of kings than our Puritans do the decrowning of bishops," Overbury gives expression at the same time to the fierce hatred of popery (a hatred which had not grown less fierce since the discovery of the gunpowder plot in 1605 had ended all opposition to the accession of James), and to the no less implacable hatred of the nonconformists. The latter are satirized in the two companion sketches, "A Puritan" and "A Precision." Here we find them described with all the spleen that we should expect from a churchman who looked upon them as fanatics murmuring at everything the law allowed, "but marriage and March beer." A great deal of the campaign literature of the age consisted of anonymous tracts written in the form of such Characters as these, in which the sectarians and the churchmen were ridiculed alternately.

Of Overbury's Characters as a whole it may be said that, unlike Hall's, which exhibit the tendency to ethical introspection that was developed by Puritanism, they are allied to the comedy of the time, being such pictures of contemporary manners as we find set into the text of *Cynthia's Revels*, *Bartholomew Fair*, and other plays of the same kind. Overbury was a shrewd observer, at least of external personal peculiarities. United to observation, he possessed considera-

¹Among the very best of them is Dr. John Donne's "Character of a Scotchman" in his *Paradoxes, Problems, Essays and Characters* (1652).

ble skill in portrayal, so that his personages are not merely described, but are made visible to us as we read. It is this visualizing power that gives to Overbury's Characters their significance in the development of English character-portrayal. There is no depth of insight into character, such as we find in some of the later writers; no fine touches of feeling¹ to enlist our interest and awaken our sympathy. But in power to make his Characters objectively visible, Overbury's show a distinct improvement over those that had preceded, and mark an era in the development of Character-writing.

As fairly representative of Overbury's qualities as a writer of Characters, I excerpt from the collection published under his name the "Character of a fine Gentleman."

"A FINE GENTLEMAN

"Is a cinnamon tree, whose bark is more worth than his body. He hath read the book of good manners, and by this time each of his limbs may read it. He alloweth of no judge but the eye: painting, bolstering, and bombasting are his orators. By these also he proves his industry, for he hath purchased legs, hair, beauty, and straightness, more than nature left him. He unlocks maidenheads with his language, and speaks Euphues, not so gracefully as heartily. His discourse makes not his behaviour; but he buys it at court, as country men their clothes in Birchin Lane. He is somewhat like the salamander, and lives in the flame of love, which pains he expresseth comically. And nothing grieves him so much as the want of a poet to make an issue in his love. Yet he sighs sweetly and speaks lamentably, for his breath is perfumed and his words are wind. He is best in season at Christmas, for the boar's head and reveller come together. His hopes are laden in his quality; and lest fiddlers should take him unprovided, he wears pumps in his pocket; and, lest he should take fiddlers unprovided, he whistles his own galliard. He is a calendar of ten years, and marriage rusts him. Afterwards he maintains himself an implement of household by carving and ushering. For all this, he is judicial

¹Once only does Overbury show any fineness of feeling. It is the "Character of a Virtuous Widow," where he says, speaking of her old age: "This latter chastity of hers is more grave and reverend than that ere she was married, for in it is neither hope, nor longing, nor fear, nor jealousy."

only in tailors and barbers ; but his opinion is ever ready and ever idle. If you will know more of his acts, the broker's shop is the witness of his valor, where lies wounded, dead rent, and out of fashion, many a spruce suit, overthrown by his fantasticalness."

More interesting than Overbury's, because full of a deeper insight, a wider sympathy, and a kindlier humor, was the little book of Characters written by John Earle and published fourteen years later. This was the *Microcosmography, or Piece of the World discovered in Essays and Characters* (1628).¹ It was the introduction by Earle into the Character of these three qualities, mentioned above, that marks its development toward the delineations of character to be found in the work of the novelists. Take such a touch of sympathetic insight as that in the "Character of a Poor Man," where Earle says of him, "the bitterest thing he suffers is his neighbors," and compare it with such a vivid setting forth of the same truth as Thackeray gives us in *Pendennis* (chapter xx). Here the hero, plucked, disgraced, in debt, is overtaken on the Fenbury road by the uproarious but kindly Spavin, who has got his degree and is driving home in triumph. As Pendennis looks at him, he thinks, "This man has passed, but I have failed," and the thought is almost too much for him to bear. Between the bare rudimentary suggestion of the old Character, offered without illustration or comment to give it human interest or convincing force, and the picture of Pendennis finding the rough

¹ The book contains seventy-eight Characters, of which fifty-four appeared in the edition of 1628, twenty-two more in that of the following year, and two more in that of 1633. Of these only forty are, properly speaking, ethical. The rest are of the same class as most of Overbury's, in which the types are considered not so much as possessing certain ethical qualities, as playing certain parts in life. They consist for the most part of types to be found in a college town—academical and professional types, with a sprinkling of tradesmen, duns, and catchpoles. This limited range of subject was due to Earle's being, at the time of writing, a resident fellow at Oxford.

but genuine sympathy of his former classmate gall and wormwood to him, it may be hard to see much relation. Yet in such realistic suggestions of pathos, colorless and rudimentary though they be, rather than in the older romances, chivalrous or picaresque, are to be found the first faint foreshadowings of that realistic pathos which forms so large a part of the novel's appeal to our sympathy and interest.

That the Character, as compared with the work of the novelist, seems undervitalized, is due to the fact that the Character-writer was concerned with a delineation of character which was by its very method rudimentary, because the characters were all labeled and classified. In no case could there be any mistake about the effect intended. The success of the appeal which the Character makes upon our interest must, therefore, depend wholly upon the humor, the liveliness, and the veri-similitude of the portrayal. Of that complexity which at the same time baffles and charms us in the great characters of fiction there can in the Character exist no trace. The aim of the Character-writer was simply to add touch after touch, indicating in different phases and from different points of view the same general characteristic. The result of conforming to such limitations was too often, even in the work of the best of the Character-writers, a featureless and pale picture. At best no fine portraiture was possible, for the subtler characteristics are scarcely the same in any two persons, and hence a portrait that aims to give only those traits common to a class cannot be at the same time the accurate likeness of an individual. Moreover, these subtler characteristics are seen, not so much in particular actions, as in the relations of one action to another. But if minute inferences are to be drawn, the induction must be larger than was possible within the Character's conventionally narrow limits. The Character resembled the imaginary por-

traits that sprinkle the pages of such books as Lavater's,¹ in which all the features are made to bear the same stamp. Lavater's pictures are no less inferior to a portrait by Vandyke than is the Character below such a creation as Pendennis.

Earle's claim upon the consideration of one who is interested in the development of Character-writing, is based upon his being the first who could analyze character. He was the first who, in attempting to account for such peculiarities as Hall and Overbury had observed only superficially, looked beneath the surface to a bent or warp of the mind. An instance of what is referred to is found in the "Character of a Discontented Man." Both Hall and Overbury had already described the type, the former under the title, "The Malcontent ;" the latter under the title, "A Distaster of the Time." Neither had described the type in any but the most superficial way. Hall had described him as "headstrong and self-willed ;" Overbury, as capricious.² Earle, not content with describing symptoms, asserts that "the root of his disease is a self-humouring pride, and an accustomed tenderness not to be crossed in his fancy ; and the occasion commonly one of these three, a hard father, a peevish wench, or his ambition thwarted." To show more at length this quality of Earle's Characters I here insert one of them entire.

¹ Johann Caspar Lavater, founder of the pseudo-science of Physiognomy, and author of *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775-8). The popularity, in the eighteenth century, of such works as Lavater's was probably due, at least in part, to the interest in types of character, aroused, in the preceding century, by phrenological Character-books—for instance, *A Brief Discourse Concerning the Different Wits of Men* (1669), by Dr. Walter Charleton.

² "His wishes are giddy winds, which breathed forth, return into himself, and make him a most giddy and tottering vessel."

"A POOR MAN

"Is the most impotent man, though neither blind nor lame, as wanting the more necessary limbs of life, without which limbs are a burden. A man unfenced and unsheltered from the gusts of the world, which blow all in upon him, like an unroofed house; and the bitterest thing he suffers is his neighbors. All men put on to him a kind of churlisher fashion, and even more plausible natures are churlish to him, as who are nothing advantaged by his opinion. Men fall out with him beforehand to prevent friendship, and his friends too to prevent engagements, or if they own him it is in private and a by-room, and on condition not to know them before company. All vice put together is not half so scandalous, nor sets off our acquaintance farther; and even those that are not friends for ends do not love any dearness with such men. The least courtesies are upbraided to him, and himself thanked for none, but his best services suspected as handsome sharking and tricks to get money. And we shall observe it in knaves themselves, that your beggarliest knaves are the greatest, or thought so at least, for those that have wit to thrive by it have art not to seem so. Now a poor man has not vizard enough to mask his vices, nor ornament enough to set forth his virtues, but both are naked and unhandsome; and though no man is necessitated to more ill, yet no man's ill is less excused, but it is thought a kind of impudence in him to be vicious, and a presumption above his fortune. His good parts lie dead upon his hands, for want of matter to employ them, and at the best are not commended but pitied, as virtues ill placed, and we may say of him, 'Tis an honest man, but tis pity;' and yet those that call him so will trust a knave before him. He is a man that has the truest speculation of the world, because all men shew to him in their plainest and worst, as a man they have no plot on, by appearing good to; whereas rich men are entertained with a more holiday behavior, and see only the best we can dissemble. He is the only he that tries the true strength of wisdom, what it can do of itself without the help of fortune; that with a great deal of virtue conquers extremities; and with a great deal more, his own impatience; and obtains of himself not to hate men."

The most charming of the Character-writers, and, with the one exception of Samuel Butler, the most discerning, was Thomas Fuller, whose book, *The Holy and Profane States*, appeared in 1642.¹ Fuller was the first to discard the

¹It is divided into two parts, the first offering examples for imitation, the second, for avoidance. *The Holy State* contains forty-eight Characters; *The Profane State*, thirty-one. Of this total of seventy-nine, only four are genuine types of ethical character: this shows how far the Character-writers had by this time departed from the Theophrastic tradition.

conventional manner of writing Characters. The style thus fixed by tradition had been one which combined in the fullest possible degree wit with brevity. In the attempt to gain these two qualities, the writers of Characters—at least those who, unlike Earle, had not sufficient individuality to make their style distinctive—had crowded together the most motley assemblage of ideas into the smallest possible space. They had pillaged all the available store of human knowledge to furnish themselves with out-of-the-way comparisons. Sentences were made to bristle with strange metaphors, unexpected antitheses, and puns. As a result, the reader is often wearied, not so much with the compression of a wealth of ideas—most of the Character books are not mines of mental wealth—as with the bewildering elaborateness with which the ideas are presented. Too often the authors were mere jugglers with words. They enjoyed giving them, as Samuel Butler said,¹ “a double stroke like a tennis-ball against two walls at one blow.” They resembled the landscape-gardeners of the age, who prided themselves upon their ability to improve nature. As the landscape-artists made the yews and cypresses grow in the shapes of peacocks and statues, changing nature’s curves and spirals into straight lines and parallelograms, and finally estimated the merits of the work by the difficulties of the execution; so the early Character-writers prided themselves more upon their curiously and elaborately unnatural mode of expression than upon the life-likeness of the portrayal. Fuller’s mind, on the contrary, was entirely too original to allow his style to be governed by artificial restrictions. It is, therefore, from the date of publication of Fuller’s *Holy and Profane States* that we may date the emancipation of the Character from the Euphuistic tradition.

¹ “Character of a Quibbler,” in *Remains*, vol. II, p. 206.

The influence of Fuller's work upon the later Character was wholly in the direction of greater freedom. He overthrew an old tradition without establishing a new one. He wrote without a precedent. He was followed by no imitators. Indeed, his style defied imitation, because it was the man himself. Anecdotes, humorous or otherwise; whimsical drollery; brilliant witticisms—the whole language of jocularity, was his own vernacular, and because it was so, it acquired something of the gravity of earnest. "Such was his natural bias to conceits," wrote Lamb,¹ "that I doubt not upon most occasions it would have been going out of his way to have expressed himself out of them."

As indicative of Fuller's independence of tradition, I would call attention to a habit of his, without precedent among the writers of Characters, of scattering through the sketches doggerel verses and odd ends of poetry.² We frequently find him translating a verse of Latin poetry into doggerel rhyme;³ and in the biographical sketch of Joan of Arc we find inserted a curious and rather coarse epitaph upon her, composed presumably by Fuller himself.

As an illustration of the tendency, already noted, of the Character to become biographical, we find Fuller's "Character of a Good King" to be a disguised, but by no means

¹ "Essay on *Specimens from the Writings of Fuller*."

² Peter Heylyn, one of Fuller's contemporaries, notes this habit of Fuller and says there was no precedent for it among historical writers (Article on Fuller as a historian in his *Examen Historicum*).

³ An example of this is the line,

"Heu mihi, quam pingui macer est mihi taurus in arvo,"

which is translated thus :

"My starveling bull
Ah woe is me
In pasture full
How lean is he."

unidealized, portrait of Charles I.¹ Allied to this, is another feature of the work which makes it unique among the Character-books of the century. This is the introduction of the biographical sketch to illustrate the Character. Twenty-seven of the Characters are followed by short historical accounts of noted men and women who embodied, or were thought by Fuller to embody, the quality before typified by the Character. His selection of these historical personages for illustrative purposes is often quite erratic. It is not quite clear, for example, why Jehu should have been chosen to serve as an example of hypocrisy, nor why Paracelsus should have been selected as the embodiment of the qualities of "The Good Physician." Even more peculiar is the choice of Joan of Arc and the Witch of Endor to illustrate the "Character of a Witch."² These biographical sketches afford abundant opportunity for the display of that genius for biography for which Fuller was so justly famous. Inaccurate he often was, "One need not be so accurate," he says,³ "for as soon shall one scour the spots out of the moon, as all ignorance out of man." Yet while he disclaimed all desire to be regarded as a "carver of cumin seed," none knew better than he how to select the principal events in the lives of his subjects, and those distinguishing incidents or anecdotes that make them live before us.

¹In his "Character of the Favorite" Fuller says: "But the most temperate princes love to taste the sweetness of their own praises, if not overluscious with flattery." The praises here are certainly open to the charge of overlusciousness. The flattery is so fulsome as closely to resemble the severest irony; and at the close, Fuller becomes so "dazzled by the lustre of majesty" that he becomes almost incoherent.

²Quaintly humorous also is the grouping of the Duke of Suffolk, Cardinal Wolsey, and Haman to embody the qualities set forth in the "Character of a Favorite."

³In the "Character of a Controversial Divine."

An example follows of the Character as Fuller wrote it. It is taken from *The Profane State*.

“THE LIAR

“Is one that makes a trade to tell falsehoods with intent to deceive. He is either open or secret. A secret liar or equivocator is such an one as by mental reservations and other tricks deceives him to whom he speaks, being lawfully called to deliver all the truth ; and sure speech being but a copy of the heart, it cannot be avouched for a true copy that hath less in it than the original. Hence it often comes to pass,

‘When Jesuits unto us answer, Nay,
They do not English speak, ’tis Greek they say.’

“Such an equivocator we have, more needing a book than character to describe him. The open liar is first either mischievous, condemned by all ; secondly, officious, unlawful also, because doing ill for good to come of it ; thirdly, jesting, when in sport and merriment. And though some count a jesting lie to be like the dirt of oysters, which (they say) never stains, yet is it a sin in earnest. What policy is it for one to wound himself to tickle others, and to stab his own soul to make the standers-by sport ? We come to describe the liar.

“At first he tells a lie with some shame and reluctancy. For then if he cuts off but a lap of truth’s garment, his heart smites him : but in process of time he conquers his conscience, and from quenching it there ariseth a smoke which soots and fouls his soul, so that afterwards he lies without any regret.

“Having made one lie, he is fain to make more to maintain it. For an untruth, wanting a firm foundation, needs many buttresses. The honor and happiness of the Israelites is the misery and mischief of lies, ‘Not one among them shall be barren,’ but miraculously procreative to beget others.

“He hath a good memory which he badly abuseth. Memory in a liar is no more than needs. For, first, lies are hard to be remembered, because many, whereas truth is but one ; secondly, because a lie, cursorily told, takes little footing and settled fastness in the teller’s memory, but prints itself deeper in the hearers’, who take the greater notice because of the improbability and deformity thereof ; and one will remember the sight of a monster longer than the sight of a handsome body. Hence comes it to pass, that, when the liar hath forgotten himself, his auditors put him in mind of the lie, and take him therein.

“Sometimes, though his memory cannot help him from being arrested for lying, his wit rescues him ; which needs a long reach to bring all ends presently and probably together, gluing the splinters of his tales so cunningly

that the cracks cannot be perceived. Thus a relic-monger bragged he could show a feather of the dove at Christ's baptism ; but being to show it to the people, a wag had stolen away the feather and put a coal in the room of it. 'Well,' quoth he to the spectators, 'I cannot be so good as my word for the present, but here is one of the coals that broiled St. Lawrence, and that's worth the seeing.'

"Being challenged for telling a lie, no man is more furiously angry. Then he draws his sword and threatens, because he thinks that an offer to revenge, to show himself moved at the accusation, doth in some sort discharge him of the imputation ; as if the condemning of the sin in appearance acquitted him in effect ; or else because he that is called a liar to his face is also called a coward in the same breath, if he swallows it ; and the party charged doth conceive that if he vindicates his valor, his truth will be given him into the bargain.

"At last he believes his own lies to be true. He hath told them over and over so often, that prescription makes a right ; and he verily believes that at the first he gathered the story out of some authenthical author, which only grew in his own brain.

"No man else believes him when he speaks the truth. How much gold soever he hath in his chest, his word is but brass and passeth for nothing ; yea, he is dumb in effect, for it is all one whether one cannot speak or cannot be believed.

"To conclude : some of the West Indians, to expiate their sin of lying, used to let themselves blood in their tongues, and to offer the blood to their idols : a good cure for the squinancy, but no satisfaction for lying. God's Word hath taught us better : 'What profit is there in my blood ?' The true repentance of the party washed in the blood of Christ can only obtain pardon for this sin."

In the hands of Fuller the Character finally attained the freedom of form that fitted it to take its place in the development of English fiction. The attainment of this freedom of form had been a gradual one. Hall had freed it from the limitations which a servile imitation of his Greek model would have forced upon it. Overbury had contributed vividness of presentation. Fuller had emancipated it from the Euphuistic tradition. It was, therefore, henceforth sufficiently elastic in form to be suited to the needs of the periodical essayists of the following century.

Why it should have been through the periodical essay that the Character influenced the development of fiction is

not difficult to understand. The Essay and the Character were, as literary forms, closely akin and had never been dissociated. Evidence of this is the frequency with which we meet the alternative title, "Essays and Characters." The Character-writers themselves recognized this kinship particularly between the Character and the *Baconian* essay. In 1615 Nicholas Breton had dedicated his *Characters upon Essays, Moral and Divine*, to Sir Francis Bacon, with the following "Address:" "Worthy knight, I have read of many essays and a kind of charactering of them, by such, as when I looked into the form or nature of their writing I have been of the conceit, that they were but imitators of your breaking the ice to their inventions; which how short they fall of your worth, I had rather think than speak, though Truth need not blush at her blame," etc.

Fuller, in his *Holy and Profane States*, also recognized, tacitly at least, the relation of the Character to the Baconian essay. Between the two parts¹ into which the whole collection of Characters is divided, he inserted, under the head of "General Rules," twenty-five moral essays. Of these the titles of seven are identical with those of Bacon, and even the forms of expression often recall him. The following illustrations are all taken from the "Essay on Atheism."

BACON.

"A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's mind about to religion.

"A contemplative atheist is rare. A Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps.

"The cause of atheism are divisions in religion.

FULLER.

"A little skill in antiquity inclines a man to popery, but depth in that study brings him about again to our religion.

"A contemplative atheist being very rare, such as were Diagoras, Protagoras, Lucian and Theodorus.

"First he quarrels at the diversities of religion in the world.

¹ "In order," as Fuller says, "that the books on both sides may equally reach to them."

BACON.

FULLER.

"A third [cause of atheism] is a custom of profane scoffing in holy matters." "He scoffs and makes sport of sacred things."

The closeness of the relation between the Character and the Baconian essay was due in part to the inherent similarity between the two, and in part to the difficulty experienced by the essayists in attaining the definiteness they sought without having recourse to the Character. The imitators of Bacon were not, for the most part, like him, at once profound thinkers, shrewd observers of life, men of affairs. In consequence, their work was not, as his had been, a series of pithy jottings on great subjects, the expression of an enlightened worldly wisdom. On the contrary, these essays, generally the work of young men, instead of being in style brief, suggestive, without ornament but closely packed with thought, tended to become diffuse and too often lacked the definiteness necessary to make them impressive.¹ To avoid this tendency, a convenient device was at hand in the Character. By its use the general observations contained in the essay could be united and given a certain concreteness in the form of a typical portrait, which should serve the double purpose of enforcing and illustrating what had already been said in the essay. Thus in Fuller's *Holy and Profane States*, the combination of the moral essay, the Character, and the biographical sketch makes an ascending scale of concreteness. For example, the abstract general truths set forth in the essay "Of Gravity" are typified and made somewhat more concrete in the "Character of a Faithful Minister." Finally, they are still further illustrated in the life of a "learned, pious, and painful preacher of God's word," one Mr. Perkins of Cambridge.

¹ Such, to mention a single instance, was Owen Feltham's *Resolves* (1628), of which the twelve editions previous to 1709 attest the continued popularity.

The same considerations that furthered the use of the Character in the Baconian essay led to its utilization by the periodical essayists of the eighteenth century.¹ In the second issue of the *Spectator* appeared six Characters of those mythical gentlemen supposed to be associated with the *Spectator* in the editorship of that periodical. These are six types of contemporary society: the country squire, the wealthy merchant, the young man of fashion, the soldier, the clergyman, and the bachelor of the Inner Temple. As soon as we examine these sketches, the change that had come over the old formal Character since the time of Hall and Overbury, becomes at once apparent. From the Character as they had written it, every eccentricity of individual manner, every whimsical personal trait, all that surprises, and by its very inconsistency gives life to a literary portrait, had been rigidly excluded, as likely to rob it of its generic quality. But here the portraits are so individualized as to seem those of particular persons, while still general enough to enable us to recognize the type in many people that we meet.²

It is, of course, in the Character of Sir Roger de Coverley, as it is elaborately drawn in the twenty-six papers in which his adventures, opinions, and conversations are recorded, that the Character approached the novel most closely. His

¹The periodical essay was in style an imitation of the gay, light, and graceful essays of Montaigne, rather than of the brief, sententious essays of Bacon. Or, more specifically, the imitation was of Montaigne through his disciple, La Bruyère.

²Conjectures were formerly made as to whether these sketches were not from life. Sir Roger has been identified with a certain Sir John Packington of Worcestershire; Captain Sentry is said to have been C. Kempenfelt, father of Admiral Kempenfelt; and Will Honeycomb, a certain festive Colonel Cleland. "I once thought I knew a Will Wimble and a Will Honeycomb, but they turned out but indifferently" (Hazlitt, *On the Periodical Essayists*).

Character had been written before. Overbury's "Country Gentleman" has enough in common with it to show clearly that both writers had in mind the same type, though a comparison of the two will set forth with equal clearness the advance that the Character had made in a hundred years. The type was the same.¹ Only the mode of presenting it had changed.

Both are justices of the peace. But while Overbury's has no name or local habitat, and might live anywhere in England, Sir Roger differs from him in possessing both. He lives in Worcestershire, where he owns a country seat, Coverley Hall. And when, like Overbury's "Country Gentleman," he occasionally goes up to London, he lodges in Soho Square. Moreover, he resembles the aforesaid "Gentleman" in being a little awkward and ill at ease in the great city.² He is at his best in his own shire, where he can explain the game laws and untangle a knotty point of law with the sage reply "that there is much to be said on both sides of the question."³ Like the "Country Gentleman" again, he is careful about expense, and we find him requiting the guide who had conducted him through the Abbey by shaking him by the hand at parting.⁴ But though

¹ "But he [Sir Roger] was from the first intended to be a *type* of a country gentleman, just as much as Don Quixote was an imaginative representation of many Spanish gentlemen whose brains had been turned by the reading of romances. In both cases the type of character was so common . . . as to lend itself easily to the treatment of writers who approached it with various conceptions and very unequal degrees of skill." *Addison*, by W. J. Courthope (Harpers, 1884, p. 166).

² "Nothing but a subpoena can draw him to London; and when he is there, he sticks fast upon every object, casts his eyes away upon gazing, and becomes the prey of every cut-purse."—Overbury.

³ "He speaks statutes and husbandry well enough to make his neighbors think him a wise man."—Overbury.

⁴ "When he travelleth he will go ten miles out of the way to a cousin's house of his to save charges; he rewards the servant by taking him by the hand when he departs."—Overbury.

these two Characters are thus seen to have something in common, there is still between them all the difference that can exist between a collection of characteristics, epigrammatically expressed and satirically intended, and a highly individualized literary portrait. The century intervening had been sufficient to secure for the Character that freedom of form which in the *Sir Roger de Coverley Papers* we find it to possess.

It seems strange that after the appearance of the *Sir Roger de Coverley Papers*, when, as Taine says,¹ the novel had been unconsciously discovered, people did not sooner awake to a realization that a new form of art had been created. The faithful description of life and manners was there, the interest of character and incident was also present. The essays needed but to have been thrown into the form of a continuous narrative to have given us the modern novel.² As it was, the office of the periodical essay in preparing the way for the novel was mainly an educative one, for, by its circulation of thirty thousand copies, it had an incalculable influence on the formation of public taste in the direction of the novel. Just how much the novel owes directly to the Character through the *Spectator*, it is, of course, impossible to determine. We know that Fielding was perfectly familiar with the work of the periodical essayists, with whom his critical satire so closely allied him.³ We know that, as a form of character delineation, Sir Roger de Coverley is half

¹*History of English Literature*, translated by H. Van Laun (Holt and Williams, 1871), vol. II, p. 112.

²Macaulay had not the least doubt "that if Addison had written a novel on an extensive plan, it would have been superior to any that we possess." Macaulay's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (Appleton, 1861), vol. v, p. 118.

³Leslie Stephen says "Parson Adams" of Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742) is closely related to Sir Roger de Coverley (*Hours in a Library*, III. Series, p. 76).

way between Overbury's "Country Gentleman" and "Squire Western" of Fielding's *Tom Jones*, all three being individualized types, and differing only in the degree of individualization. Perhaps it is not taking too much for granted to assume that Fielding owed to Addison some suggestions as to character portrayal; and that, therefore, the debt of the novel to the Character was after all a direct one.

Be that as it may, our concern has been with the development of the Character itself from the stiffness and formality of its beginnings to the more vital form of literary art which it finally became. It has been shown, first, that the Character as written by Addison, though different from the Character as written by Hall, was not unaccountably different. Secondly, it has been shown that the moral essay through which it passed into the novel was not to the Character an alien nor unrelated form; that, on the contrary, the Character and the moral essay had always been associated.

EDWARD CHAUNCEY BALDWIN.

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[A chronological list of Character-books published between the beginning of the seventeenth, and the middle of the eighteenth century.¹]

1605. *Picture of A Puritane; or the Opinions, Qualities and Practises of the Anabaptists in Germanie, and of the Puritanes in England. Wherein is firmly proved that the Puritanes doe resemble the Anabaptists in Above fourscore severell Things.* [By Oliver Ormerod.]
1606. *The Picture of A Papist; or a Relation of the damnable Heresies, detestable Qualities and diabolically Practises of sundry Hereticks of former Ages and of the Papists in this Age.* [By Oliver Ormerod.]

¹ With a view to economy of space, I have purposely omitted to mention the size of the volume and, in most cases, the place of publication. It will be understood to have been London, unless otherwise stated.

1607. *The Choice of Jewels: Characters of Good Women.* By Lodowick Lloyd.
1608. *Characters of Vices and Vertues.* By Joseph Hall. [Reprinted in *Works* by P. Winter, Oxford, 1863, vol. vi. French translation, 1619; versified by Nahum Tate, 1691.]
1609. *The Man in the Moone telling Strange Fortunes; or, The English Fortune Teller.* [Reprinted in vol. xxix, *Percy Society Publications*, 1849.]
1613. *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners.* Written by G. M. of Grayes'-Inn, Gent. [By Geoffrey Mynshul.]
1614. *A Wife now the Widow of Sir Thomas Overburge. Being a most exquisite and singular Poem of the Choice of a Wife. Whereunto are added many witty Characters, and conceited Newes, written by himself and other learned Gentlemen his friends.*
1615. *Satyrical Essayes, Characters, and others, or accurate and quick Descriptions, fitted to the life of their Subjects.* By John Stephens. [A second edition possesses the following title: *New Essayes and Characters, with a New Satyre in defence of the Common Law and Lawyers: mixt with reproofe against the Enemy Ignoramus.*]
1615. *Characters upon Essaies, morall and divine, written for those good spirits that will take them in good part and make use of them to good purpose.* By Nicholas Breton.
1616. *The Good and the Badde, or Descriptions of the Worthies and Unworthies of this Age. Where the Best may see their Graces and the Worst discerne their Baseness.* By Nicholas Breton.
[A second edition appeared in 1643 under the title of *England's Selected Characters, etc.*
Christ's Politician and Salomon's Puritan. By Thomas Scott.
The Interpreter, wherein three principall termes of State much mistaken by the Vulgar [viz. Puritan, Protestant, Papist] are clearely unfolded in verse. [By Thomas Scott.]
1626. *Cures for the Itch. Characters, Epigrams, Epitaphs.* By H. P. London, 1626. [By Henry Parrot.]
1628. *Micro-cosmographie: or a Peece of the World discovered in Essayes and Characters. Newly composed for the Northerne parts of this Kingdome.* [By John Earle.]
1629. *Micrologia. Characters, or Essayes, of Persons, Trades, and Places, offered to the City and Country.* By R. M.
1630. *The Water-Cormorant his Complaint against a Brood of Land-Cormorants.* By John Taylor.
Character of a Gentleman. [Appended to *The English Gentleman*, London, 1631. Both by Richard Brathwaite.]
1631. *Whimzies; Or, A new Cast of Characters.* [By Richard Brathwaite.]

- Picturæ Loquentes: or Pictures drawne forth in Characters. With a Poeme of a Maid.* By Wye Saltonstall.
1631. *Characterismi, or Lenton's Leasures. Expressed in Essayes and Characters, never before written on.* [By Francis Lenton.]
[A second edition appeared in 1663 under the title: *Characters, or Wit and the World in their proper colours presented to the Queen's most excellent Majestie.*]
1632. *London and Country Carbonadoed and Quartred into severall Characters.* By Donald Lupton. [Reprinted in vol. ix of the *Harleian Miscellany*, p. 312.]
1634. *A strange Metamorphosis of Man, transformed into a Wildernesse. Deciphered in Characters.*
1635. *Castara.* By Thomas Habington. (Second edition.)
[This differed from the edition of 1634 by the addition of three prose characters, and twenty-six new poems. The third edition was that of 1640, with an additional third part containing the character of "The Holy Man," and twenty-two devotional poems.]
1641. *The true Character of an untrue Bishop: with a recipe at the end how to recover a Bishop if hee were lost.* [Reprinted in *Phoenix Britannicus*, London, 1732, vol. i, p. 280.]
The Character of a Roundhead. [Reprinted in vol. i of *The Rump*, a collection of political songs published in 1662.]
Lucifer's Lackey, or the Devil's new Creature, being the true Character of a Dissembling Brownist.
The Frogs of Egypt, or the Caterpillars of the Commonwealth truly dissected and laid open in Verse.
A Charitable Church-Warden or an Hypocrite Anatomized, very pleasant and Delectable.
1642. *The Anatomy of the Separatists or Brownists.*
Roger the Canterburian who cannot say Grace for his meat with a low-crowned Hat before his face, or the Character of a prelatical Man affecting great Heights. Newley written by G. T. [Reprinted in *Phoenix Britannicus*, London, 1732, vol. i, p. 285.]
Character of An Honest and Worthy Parliament Man. [Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ii, p. 352.]
The Holy State and The Profane State. By Thomas Fuller.
The Lively Character of the Malignant Party.
A True Description of the Pot-companion Poet who is the Founder of all the base and libellous Pamphlets lately spread abroad; also a Character of a Swill-bowl Cook.
Character of a Projector. By James Hogg.
1643. *The Right Character of a True Subject.*
Character of an Oxford Incendiary. [Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v, p. 469.]

1644. *The Character of a Right Malignant.* By Thomas May.
The Reformado precisely characterized.
1645. *A Forest of Varieties.* By Dudley North (third Lord North).
[This contains, besides essays, letters, and poems, "sudden touches in the nature of characters written about the year 1625."]
A New Anatomy, or Character of a Christian, or Round-head. Expressing his Description, Excellency, Happiness and Innocency. Where it may appear how far the blind World is mistaken in their unjust Censure of him.
1646. *Characters and Elegies.* By Francis Wortley.
Character of an Old English Puritane or Non-conformist. By John Gere.
The Times Anatomiz'd in severall Characters. By T. F. [By T. Ford.]
The Character of An Agitator.
1647. *Character of a Country Committee-Man with the Ear-mark of a Sequestrator.*
Character of a London Diurnal.
Character of a Diurnal-maker.
[The last three were published separately in 1647 by John Cleveland. Reprinted in Henry Morley's *Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century*, London, Routledge, 1891.]
1648. *Character of a Believing Christian in Paradoxes and seeming contradictions.* [Included in *The Remains of Francis, Lord Verulam*, but probably not genuine.]
Character of An Assembly-man. By Sir John Birkenhead. [Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v, p. 93, and in *Somers Tracts*, vol. v, p. 487.]
1651. *Reliquiae Wottonianae; or a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of Sundry Personages and other Incomparable Pieces of Language and Art.* By the Curious Pensil of the Ever Memorable Sr Henry Wotton, Kt. [Contains, among others, the "Character of a Happy Life."]
Character of A Cockney. Alonzo Mastix in a Satirical Poem dedicated (as a New Years Gift) to the apprentices of London. By Junius Anonimus, A London Apprentice.
1652. *Paradoxes, Problems, Essays and Characters.* By Dr. John Donne.
[This was a third edition of the book which appeared in 1633 under the title *Juvenilia or Paradoxes and Problems*.]
1655. *The Quaking Mountebank, or the Jesuit turned Quaker.* By Donald Lupton.
1656. *The Surfeit to A. B. C.*
1658. *Naps upon Parnassus.* A sleepy Muse nipt and pinchd, though not awakened. Such voluntary and Jovial copies of verses as were lately

received from some of the Wits of the Universities in a Frolick, dedicated to Gondibert's Mistress by Captain Jones, and others. Whereunto is added, for demonstration of the Author's prosaick excellency's, his Epistle to one of the Universities, with the Answer: together with two satyirical characters of his own, of a Temporizer and an Antiquary.

Enigmaticall Characters, all taken to the Life from several Persons, Humours, and Dispositions, Pleasant and full of Delight. By R. F. [By Richard Flecknoe. Second edition, called *Sixty-nine Characters*, etc., in 1665; and also in 1665, *Enigmatical Characters*, etc.; being rather a new work than a new impression of the old, differing greatly from the other two.]

Satirical Characters and Handsome Descriptions in Letters. Translated from the French of Cyrano Bergerac.

[An account of the book will be found in the *Retrospective Review*, vol. i, p. 285.]

Divine Characters, showing the difference of the Hypocrite in his best Dress from the truly Godly in his blackest weeds of daily Infirmary. By Samuel Croke. [A posthumous book, written much earlier.]

1659. *A perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland.*

A Character of England as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Noble-man of France. With Reflections upon Gallus Castratus. The third Edition. [By John Evelyn. Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. x, p. 189, and in *Somers Tracts*, vol. vii, p. 176. It had been first published in 1651, and was answered in 1659 by the following work.]

A Character of France, to which is added Gallus Castratus, or an Answer to a late slanderous Pamphlet, called the Character of England.

1660. *The Character of Italy: Or the Italian Anatomiz'd by an English Chirurgeon.*

Character of Spain; Or an Epitome of their Virtues and Vices.

The Double P. P.: Or the Picture of a traitorous Jesuit.

The Character of An Anabaptist.

1661. *The Character of a Modern Whig.* By Walter Charleton.

Essayes and Characters, by L. G.

Confused Characters of Conceited Coxcombs: Or a dish of traitorous Tyrants dressed with Verjuice and pickled to Posterity together with their Camp Retinue and Feme Covert. By Verax Philobasilus.

1664. *CCXI Sociable Letters.* By Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle.

[Several of these are, or contain, Characters.]

1665. *Pictures of Passions, Fancies and Affections; poetically deciphered in a Variety of Characters.* By Thomas Jordan. [Described in *Brydges's Restituta*, vol. ii, p. 177.]

Characters of the five Sectaries : namely Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, Quaker, and Fifth-Monarchy Man. Concluding with Remarks to King Charles the Second.

Character of a Coffee-house. Wherein is contained a Description of the Persons usually frequenting it—as also the admirable Virtues of Coffee. By an Eye-and Ear-Witness.

1669. *A Brief Character of the Low Countries under the States, being three weeks Observation of the Vices and Virtues of the Inhabitants. [By Owen Feltham, and appended to the several folio editions of the Resolves.]*

A brief Discourse concerning the different Wits of men. By Walter Charleton.

[Extracts are given in Chamber's *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*.]

1670. *A Modern Account of Scotland : being an exact Description of the Country, and a true Character of the People and their Manners. Written by an English Gentleman from thence. [Reprinted in Harleian Miscellany, vol. VI, p. 135.]*

A true Character of sundry Trades and Callings : Or a new Ditty of Innocent Mirth.

1673. *Character of a Coffee-house, with the symptoms of a Town-Wit. [Reprinted in Harleian Miscellany, vol. VI, p. 429.]*

Character of a Quack Astrologer : or the spurious Prognosticator Anatomized.

Essays of Love and Marriage : being Letters written by two young Gentlemen, the one dissuading from Love, the other an Answer thereto, With some Characters and other passages of Wit.

1675. *Character of A Fanatic. By a Person of Quality. [Reprinted in Harleian Miscellany, vol. VII, p. 635.]*

The Holborn Hector, or the Character of a Profane, Debauched Gentleman.

The Character of a Town-Gallant ; exposing the Extravagant Fopperies of some vain Self-conceited Pretenders to Gentility and good Breeding.

[Reprinted in *Old Book Collector's Miscellany* ; Charles Hindley, editor, London, 1872, vol. II.]

Poor Robin's True Character of a Scold or, the Shrews Looking-Glass. Dedicated

To all { *Domineering Dames*
Wives Rampant
Cuckolds Couchant and
Henpeckt Sneaks

In City or Country. [Reprinted in Old Book Collector's Miscellany ; Charles Hindley, editor, vol. II.]

The Ape-gentlewoman ; or the Character of an Exchange-wench.

Character of a Solicitor : or the Tricks and Quillets of a Pettifogger with

- his manifold Cheats and Knaveries, Extortions and other Villainies.
Character of an Informer. Wherein his Mischievous Nature and lewd Practices are detected.
Character of a Tavern. With a brief Draught of a Drawer.
Character of an honest drunken Curr.
Character of a pilfering Taylor.
Character of an ill Husband.
Character of a Dutchman.
Character of a Pawnbroker.
Character of a Tally Man.
1676. *Character of a Quack-Doctor, or the abusive Practices of impudent Pretenders to Physic exposed.*
Character of An Honest Lawyer. By H. C.
1677. *A Whip for a Jockey: or, a Character of an Horse-courser.*
The Delights of the Bottle, or the Town-Gallant's Declaration for Women and Wine, being a perfect Description of a Town-bred Gentleman, with all his Intrigues, Pleasures, Company, Humour, and Conversation.
The Old Pudding-pie Woman set forth in her Colours.
Seventy-eight Characters of so many Virtuous and Vicious Persons. Written by one well acquainted with most of them.
1678. *Character of an Ugly Woman: or, a Hue and Cry after Beauty. By John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.*
Four for a Penny; or Poor Robin's Character of an unconscionable Pawnbroker and Earmark of an oppressing Tally-man: With a friendly Description of a Bum-bailey and his merciless setting-cur or follower. [Reprinted in Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi, p. 141.]
1680. *Character of a Compleat Physician or Naturalist. By Dr. Mee.*
The True Character of a Presbyterian. By Sir John Denham.
Character of a True Englishman. [Reprinted in Phoenix Britannicus, London, 1732, vol. i, p. 80.]
The Honest Briton's Character of Himself. [Reprinted in Phoenix Britannicus, vol. i, p. 94.]
Character of A Town-Miss. [Reprinted in Old Book Collector's Miscellany, Charles Hindley, editor, vol. iii.]
Character of a Compleat Physician or Naturalist. By Dr. Mee.
1681. *Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines. Omitted in his other works and now printed for the first time, being very Seasonable for these times. By John Milton.*
Character of an Ill-Court-Favorite: Representing the Mischiefs that flow from Ministers of State, when they are more great than good; the Arts they use to seduce their Masters; and the Unhappiness of Princes, that are cursed with such destructive Servants. Translated out of French. [Reprinted in Harleian Miscellany, vol. ii, p. 56.]

Character of a Fanatic in general by what other name, however, he may be specially Distinguished.

Character of a Leading Petitioner.

Character of Wit's Squint-eyed maid Pasquil-makers (in verse).

Character of Two Protestants in Masquerade, Heraclitus and the Observer.

Character of a Popish Successor. By Elkanah Settle. [Written at Shaftesbury's instance and answered by the following work.]

Character of a Papist in Masquerade. By Sir Roger L'Estrange.

[This in turn was answered by the following.]

Character of a Popish Successor, Complete.

Character of a Disbanded Courtier. [Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. I, p. 356.]

Character of an Unjust Judge; or an Unjust Judge painted to the Life.

Character of an Ignoramus Doctor.

Character of a Sham-plotter.

1682. *Character of a True Protestant.* [Reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, vol. VIII, p. 343.]

Character of a Holy Sister. [Affixed to *The Puritan and Papist*, a satire by Cowley in a collection of Satires published in 1682, under the title:]

Wit and Loyalty revived, in a Collection of some smart Satyrs, in Verse and Prose, on the late Times. [Reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, vol. V, p. 480.]

Wallography: or the Briton described. By R. N., a mighty Lover of Welsh Travels.

Of a Rebellion, of a Tory, of a Good Man neither Whig or Tory, two parts of an honest man whether styled Whig or Tory and his opposite the Knave.

1683. *Character of a True Protestant Ghostly Father.*

Character of a Church-Trimmer. By Heraclitus his Ghost.

Character of an Honest Man whether styled Whig or Tory and his opposite the Knave together with some short reflections on some passages in a late Pamphlet called the Character of a Popish Successor, and Considerations thereupon. By a Lover of Truth and Peace. [Reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, vol. VIII, p. 358.]

The true Character of a Churchman showing the false Pretences to that Name. [Reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, vol. IX, p. 477.]

1684. *Character of a certain Ugly old Priest.* By John Oldham. [In *Oldham's Works*, London, 1684.]

The Manners and Customs of the principal Nations of Europe. Gathered together by the particular observation of James Salgado, a Spaniard, in his Travels through those Countries; and translated into English by the Author's care.

- [Some extracts are reprinted in *Censura Literaria*, vol. III, p. 209, which show that the book contained characters of national types.]
1686. *Twelve ingenious Characters: or pleasant Descriptions of the Properties of Sundry Persons and Things viz,*
An importunate dunn; a serjeant or bailiff; a paun-broker; a prison; a tavern; a scold; a bad husband; a town-fop; a bawd; a fair and happy milk-maid; the quack's directory; a young enamourist.
1688. *Character of a Trimmer.* [Written much earlier; attributed to Sir William Coventry, but written by George Savile, Marquis of Halifax. Reprinted in *English Prose from Maundevile to Thackeray; chosen and edited by Arthur Galton*, London, 1888. Answered by the following.]
The Character of a Tory. By John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.
1689. *Characters addressed to Ladies of Age.*
Character of a true English Protestant Soldier; with that of a Doublet-pinking Bully-Hector.
Character of a Prince. [Reprinted in *Phoenix Britannicus*, London, 1732, vol. I, p. 278.]
The Ceremony Monger, his Character. By Edmund Hickeringill.
1690. *Character of a Jacobite.*
1695. *Characters of Gentlemen that have put into the Ladies Invention (a certain Lottery).*
1696. *Character of the Wisest Men.*
 [Reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, vol. IX, p. 596.]
Character of the Beaux in five parts—to which is added the Character of a Jacobite. Written by a young gentleman.
1699. *Character of a Latitudinarian.* By Thomas Brown.
1700. *The Reformer, exposing the Vices of the Age in several Characters.* By Edward Ward.
The lively Character of a contented and discontented Cuckold a-la-mode de Angleterre, by what names or titles soever distinguished.
The Reformado precisely Characterized.
1701. *Scotland characterized in a Letter sent to a young Gentleman to dissuade him from an intended Journey thither.* [Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. VII, p. 377.]
1702. *Character of a Covetous Citizen, or a ready Way to get Rich.*
The true Character of a Churchman, together with the Character of a Low Churchman, in answer to it.
City Madam and the Country Maid, or opposite Characters of a Virtuouse House-wifely Damsel and a Mechanic's Town-bred Daughter. By Edward Ward.
1705. *Character of a Tacker to which is added the Character of an Anti-tacker by the Same Hand.* [Reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, vol. XII, p. 484.]
Character of a Sneaker. [Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. II, p. 354.]

Character of a Modern Whig, or the Republican in Fashion.

A Legacy for the Ladies ; or Characters of the Women of the Age. By Thomas Brown.

[The second part was by Edward Ward.]

1707. *The Wooden World dissected in the Character of a Ship of War.* By Edward Ward.
1708. *The true Characters of viz : A deceitful Pettifogger vulgarly called Attorney, a know-all astrological Quack, or feigned physician, a female Hypocrite or Devil in disguise.*
1709. *Character of a Primitive Bishop in a letter to a Non-juror.* By a Presbyterian of the Church of England.
1710. *Character of a Modern Addresser.*
1711. *Character of a true Churchman in a Letter.*
1715. *Character of an Honest Dissenter in twelve Marks.*
1719. *Character of an Independent Whig.*
1732. *A Collection of Loyal Songs written against the Rump Parliament between the years 1639 and 61, containing a great variety of merry and diverting Characters of the chief Sectaries who were the chief Actors in that whole scene of affairs.*
1750. *Characterism ; or the Modern Age displayed ; being an attempt to expose the pretended Virtues of both sexes. With a poetical Essay on each Character.*
1757. *The House of Correction or certain Satirical Epigrams.* Written by J. H. Gent. Together with a few Characters called *Par Pari* or *Like to Like* quoth the Devil to the Collier.
1759. *The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Mr. Samuel Butler.*

In order to show how Character-writing has persisted as a literary form, I add the names of a few nineteenth century Character-writers.

William Wordsworth :—

1807. *Poems in two volumes*, contains the "Character of a Happy Warrior."
[Wordsworth's *Poetical Works*, edited by Dowden, vol. iv, p. 228.]

Charles Lamb :—

1823. *Elia-Essays that have appeared under that signature in the 'London Magazine.'*
1833. *The Last Essays of Elia.*
[Several of these essays, e. g., "The Two Races of Men," "Imperfect Sympathies," "Poor Relations," "Captain Jackson," are Characters.]

Samuel Laman Blanchard :—

1846. *Sketches from Life.*

[A collection of Blanchard's prose-essays made the year after the author's death by Bulwer-Lytton. Contains "Portraits of Notorious Characters," nine character-sketches.]

William Makepeace Thackeray :—

1848. *The Book of Snobs.*

[Reprinted from *The Snobs of England by One of Themselves*, in *Punch*, 1846-7.]

Mary Ann Cross (George Eliot) :—

1879. *Impressions of Theophrastus Such.*

Gamaliel Bradford, Jr. :—

1895. *Types of American Character.*